

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 222965

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 222965

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EGEN, PFOR, MEX
SUBJECT: COVERAGE OF G-77 CONFERENCE, MEXICO CITY --
BACKGROUND ON COLONBO NAC

REF: 219540

FOLLOWING COLOMBO 3239 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO NAC COLLECTIVE
AUGUST 26; REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COLOMBO 3239

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG,PFOR
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ASSESSMENT OF NON-ALIGNMENT
MOVEMENT AFTER COLOMBO

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE ADDRESSES ITSELF TO THE NATURE
OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, ITS INABILITY TO EXERCISE
LEADERSHIP ON MOST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES NOT ONLY BETWEEN
SUMMIT MEETINGS BUT EVEN AT THEM. AS OPEN QUESTION IS
WHETHER THE NACC CAN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN NEW
YORK IN THE FUTURE; ITS COMPOSTION IS EXAMINED. THE U.S.
SHOULD TAKE THE MOVEMENT SERIOUSLY, BUT NOT TOO SERIOUSLY,
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PAGE 02 STATE 222965

AND GO ON WITH ITS OTHER RELATIONSHIP, BILATERAL AND
MULTILATERAL. END SUMMARY:

2. THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IS A HIGHLY HETEROGENEOUS,
UNSTRUCTURED GROUPING OF 86 THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES,WHOSE

INDIVIDUAL CLAIMS TO THE STATUS OF NON-ALIGNMENT DEFY DEFINITION OR COMPREHENSION. IT MEETS EVERY THREE YEARS AT THE CHIEF OF STATE LEVEL IN A GRAND BURST OF INDIVIDUAL ORATORY, ONE SPEAKER AT A TIME, OFTEN TO AN EMPTY HOUSE IN THE WEE HOURS OF THE MORNING. THIS YEAR ONE OR TWO SPEAKERS DID NOT BOTHER TO READ THEIR USUALLY LENGTHY ADDRESSES, BUT JUST HANDED THEM IN, AFTER THE FASHION OF REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AT THE WHITE HOUSE. MOST HAD THE IMPACT OF SUCH PRESENTATION REMARKS. IN BETWEEN TIMES, THERE ARE ONE, SOMETIMES TWO MEETINGS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL OF ALL 86, AND OCCASIONAL STUDY GROUPS ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, WHOSE RECOMMENDATIONS TEND TO BE LARGELY ADOPTED AND THEN IGNORED. THE STERRING GROUP, IN THE MEANTIME, IS A 17-MEMBER (NOW RAISED TO 25) COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH NORMALLY MEETS AT THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AT THE UN, BUT WHICH CAN IMPORT FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR A MEETING IF SO DESIRED. THERE IS NO SECRETARIAT, NO PERMANENT STAFF; EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH SOMETHING OF THIS SORT HAVE BEEN STRENUOUSLY RESISTED BY THE MEMBERS, WHO FEAR THAT SUCH MACHINERY WOULD FALL INTO THE HANDS OF ONE POWER, MUCH IN THE SENSE THAT EGYPT TENDS TO DOMINATE THE ARAB LEAGUE.

3. WHILE THE NAM CONSIDERS BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, ALL OF ITS MEMBERS TAKE PART IN NUMEROUS OTHER GROUPINGS, LARGER AND SMALLER, WHICH DEAL WITH MUCH OF THE SAME SUBJECT MATTER AS THE NAM, THOUGH NOT USUALLY AT THE CHIEF OF STATE LEVEL. THESE RANGE FROM THE UN ITSELF, THE 112-MEMBER GROUP OF 77, THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (OAU, ARAB LEAGUE), TO MUCH SMALLER GROUPS SUCH AS THE CIEC IN PARIS, OR INDIVIDUAL COMMODITY GROUPINGS. MOST OF THESE GROUPINGS PERFORM THEIR TASKS MORE EFFICIENTLY AND MORE URGENTLY, LEAVING THE NAM LARGELY DEVOTED TO EXHORTATORY ORATORY, WITH LITTLE PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. IN FACT,
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PAGE 03 STATE 222965

NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCES ARE RATHER DISTINGUISHED BY THE PAUCITY OF ANY NEW IDEAS OR SUGGESTIONS; THE OLD ONES ARE JUST REFURBISHED IN NEW LANGUAGE. PROBABLY THE ONLY ESSENTIALLY NEW PROPOSALS AT THE COLOMBO SUMMIT WERE MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S FOR A COUNTERVAILING CURRENCY AND A THIRD WORLD COMMERCIAL BANK, BOTH OF WHICH SEEM BASED ON EXPECTATIONS OF OPEC FINANCIAL SUPPORT WHICH SEEMS RATHER UNLIKELY. THE ONLY HISTORICAL EXCEPTION TO THE GENERAL INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE MOVEMENT WAS THE SURGE OF ACTIVITY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE ARISING OUT OF THE 4TH SUMMIT AT ALGIERS, RESULTING IN THE 6YH AND 7TH SPECIAL SESSIONS. BUT THIS IS THE EXCEPTION THAT PROVES THE RULE. THAT BURST OF ACTIVITY OCCURRED BECAUSE ONE (ALGERIA) OR A

SMALL GROUP OF COUNTRIES WOUKED UP A FAIRLY SPECIFIC PROGRAM OF ACTION WHICH THEY SOLD,NOT ONLY TO THE NAM, BUT EVENTUALLY TO PRACTICALLY AL THE THIRD WORLD. IN OTHER WORDS,IN THE HANDS OF A DETERMINED AND CAPABLE LEADER WLIKE THE ALGERIA OF 1973, THE NAM MAY BE GALVANIZED INTO SOME DEGREE OF ACTION. HOWEVER, OBVIOUSLY THE SUBJECT MATTER MUST BE SUCH THAT THE MEMBERS AND THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY ARE LIKELY TO FURNISH ALMOST UNEQUIVOVAL SUPPORT.

4. WHERE WILL NAM GO IN THE NEXT THRE YEARS,OTHER THAN TO HAVANA? THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE SPENED SOME PROCEDURAL CRACKS IN THE MOVEMENT WHICH MAY PROVIDE A PRECEDENT MFOR ORE DIVERSIFIED VIEWPOINTS IN FUTURE FOREIGN MINISTER AND SUMMIT MEETINGS.SHILE THE UNWIELDY CONSENSUS SYSTEM OF RESOLVING DISPUTES- WHICH SOMETIMES ALLOWS ISSUES TO BE HANDILY SWEEPED UNDER THE CARPET,REMAINS IN FORCE,THERE IS FAR GREATER READINESS TO STAND UP AND RESERVE POSITIONS ON ISSUES.THIS IN TURN MAY ENCOURAGE GREATER CONSULTATION ON DRAFTS AND A TREND AWAY FROM THE BACKROOM "STERRING COMMITTEE" TACTICS PERFECTED INTHE PAST BY THE ALGERIANS AND OTHERS.

5. SINCE THE RESULT OF FOREIGN MINISTER AND SUMMIT CONFERENCES TENDS MOST TOWARDS A REITERATION OF TIRED LANGUAGE AND CLICHES, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT
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PAGE 04 STATE 222965

TRANSIENT ISSUES MAY BE IMPORTANT ONE, TWO OR THREE YEARS HENCE. THE FOCUS THEN SWINGS TO THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (NACC) WHICH IN MAN TERMINOLOGY BECOMES A COORDINATING BUREAU WHEN REPRESENTATION IS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S LEVEL, INSTEAD OF THE NEW YORK AMBASSADORS. WILL THE NACC REALLY DEVELOP ANY NEW EFFECTIVENESS A POLICY GUIDANCE COMMITTEE? IT PROVIDES AN INSTRUMENT FOR PILING UP A RECORD AT THE UN TO CONDEMN SOME HORROR INFLICTED ON A THIRD WORLD MEMBER THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, THOUGH ONE WOULD SUSPECT IT IS HARDLY NEEDED FOR THIS. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT IT WILL NOT BE USED TO GUIDE AND DIRECT ECONOMIC NEGOTIATION GROUPS IFC ANY OF A DOZEN ECONOMIC FORUMS. POLITICAL MATERS? BUT THESE TEND OFTEN TO FRACTURE INTO REGIONAL ISSUES. (A RADIO REPORT FROM SOMEWHERE A DAY OR SO AGO MENTIONED A CALL BY SOMEONE FOR A CHIEFS OF STATE MEETING NOW OF AFRICAN AND ARAB CHIEFS OF STATE, REMARKING THAT THIS WOULD JOIN 58 OF THE 86 NAM COUNTRIES, THEREBY PRESUMABLY LEAVING ASIA AND LATIN AMERICAN OUT IN THE COLD.) YET, IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO APPEAL TO THE OLD SCHOOL TUD FOR MATTERS IN WHICH MOST MEMBERS HAVE VIRTUALLY NO INTEREST, IN TIME-HONORED LOG-ROLLING PATTERN THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED

THE MOVEMENT FROM ITS EARLIEST DAYS.

6. THE NEW NACC IS CERTAINLY A MORE RADICAL BODY THAN THE OLD ONE. ITS TWENTY-FIVE MEMBERS, CHAIRED BY SRI LANKA, WOULD SEEM TO HAVE PERHAPS 10 RADICALS (GUINEA, NIGERIA, ALGERIA, TANZANIA, ANGOLA, CUBA, PLO, IRAQ, SYRIA AND VIETNAM), PERHAPS 11 RELATIVE MODERATES (LIBERIA, ZAMBIA, ZAIRE, GUYANA, JAMAICA, PERU, UYGOSLAVIA, SRI LANKA, INDONESIA, INDIA, AND THE BANGLADESH/ AFGHANISTAN SPLIT SEAT COMBANATION), AND 4 WHO MIGHT BE CONSIDERED VIRTUALLY INACTIVE AND NOT PRONE TO INIATIVES (NIGER, CHAD. SUDAN AND BOTSWANA). OBVIOUSLY, EVERY COUNTRY IS RADICAL ON SOME ISSUES AND POTENTIALLY MODERATE ON OTHERS. SO THESE ARE ROUGH CHARACTERIZATIONS. WE ARE RELIEVED THAT NORTH KOREA FAILED IN ITS BID FOR MEMBERSHIP AND EVEN IN ITS EFFORT TO SECURE THE NEXT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING FOR PYONGYANG.

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PAGE 05 STATE 222965

7. WHAT ABOUT ATTITUDES AMONG THE MEMBER COUNTRIES? IT WOULD SEEM THAT MOST LATINS HAVE VIRTUALLY OPTED OUT OF THE MOVEMENT, LEAVING IT ESSENTIALLY A 2-CONTINENT MOVEMENT PLUS YUGOSLAVIA AND A FEW CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES. ONE OF OUR VISITING OBSERVERS REMARKED THAT THE LARGE BULK OF THE MEMBERS ARE ESSENTIALLY MODERATE, WITH A STRONG ANTI-COLONIALIST (I.E., ANTI-US), ANTI-ISRAEL (I.E. ANTI-US), AND PRO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (I.E., ANTI US) PREFERENCE. BUT, HE SAYS, THEY ARE STILL BASICALLY MODERATE, AND INCREASINGLY WILLING TO SPEAK UP, MAKING THE SILENT MAJORIGY BECOME THE NOT-SO-SILENT MAJORITY. THIS CONFERENCE SAY THE ARRIVAL OF NEW RADICALS (NORTH KOREA, VIETNAM, ANGOLA, MOZAABIQUE) TO JOIN THE OLD RADICALS, WHO SEEM ALMOST MODERATE BY COMPARISON (ALGERIA, LIBYA, CUBA - PERHAPS IN THREE YEARS THE VIETNAMESE MAY BECOME A MODEL OF PRAGMATIC MODERATION. OUTSIDE OF THE CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA. THEY SEEMED TO GO FAR TO AVOID ROCKING THE BOAT AT COLOMBO.

8. WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR US POLICY? IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT WE CANNOT, AND SHOULD NOT, IGNORE THE MOVEMENT, AS WE WERE ABOUT TO DO FOR THE FIRST DECADE OF ITS EXISTENCE. WE INTERACT WITH EACH AND EVERY ONE OF ITS MEMBERS ALMOST DAILY ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES, SEEK THEIR SUPPORT AT THE UN, AND SO ON. WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD SWALLOW OUR DISTASTE FOR THIRD WORLD RHETORIC ON THE SHOPWORN THEMES OF IMPERIALISM, ANTI-COLONIALISM, NEO/COLONIALISM, AND THE LIKE, AND CONCENTRATE, AS WE TENDED TO DO THIS YEAR, ON THE SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT STEP ON OUR TOES, LOBBYING AS HARD AS WE REASONABLY CAN, ASSURING THE MEMBERS THAT WE DO TAKE THE MOVEMENT SERIOUSLY, AND THEN-REALIZING THAT ITS HOLD

ON ITS MEMBERS BETWEEN SUMMITS IS ABOUT AS EPHEMERAL
AS AN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY STRUCTURE
BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, PROCEED NOT TO TAKE
MOVEMENT ALL THAT SERIOUSLY AFTER THE FACT, WHEN
IT DOES HAVE A BASH AT US ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE. WE
HAVE SHOWN THE MEMBERSHIP THAT WE ARE WATCHING AND DO
TAKE THEIR ACTIVITY INTO ACCOUNT ON OUR OWN KEY
ISSUES. OUR FEELING IS THAT HAVING DONE SO, IT IS
PERHAPS BEST NOT TO LINGER ON THE POST MORTEM
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PAGE 06 STATE 222965

BUT TO GO ON TO THE NEXT BATTLES IN THE NEXT DYNAMICS.
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